

SPEECH

OF

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Fellow-citizens: All the issues of former years sink into insignificance when compared with the momentous questions now before us. Heretofore the American people were divided into parties involving merely questions of internal policy or our relations with foreign Governments. The chief questions related to the currency, a tariff, distribution of the public lands, the veto power, and kindred subjects. In all these questions the policy of the Democratic party has been fully vindicated and maintained. But now, growing out of the seeds of disunion, planted by a fanaticism which has its root in New England, we have the question of the very existence of the Union and of constitutional liberty presented to us.

The Democratic party is now, and always has been the true friend of the Union and of constitutional freedom. It has been the means, under Providence, of establishing and maintaining in this land the principles of civil and religious liberty, and of advancing the prosperity and happiness of the people in the wondrous career which characterized our once happy and united country, now, alas, trembling on the verge of destruction.

Whence comes the cause of this sad change? It will be found in the organization of a sectional party opposed to the constitutional compact between the States on the subject of negro slavery. Before the success of the Abolitionized Republicans produced the disruption of our political Union, the moral Union which heretofore existed between the people of the several States was undermined and destroyed by the reckless and wicked course of the leaders of that party, and by the unconstitutional and unilateral action of the legislatures of such of the Northern States as they governed or controlled.

To save our beloved country we must restore the moral as well as the political Union, as established by our fathers. Such a Union can never be restored by the Republican-Abolitionists. They have been warring for years against the Constitution of the United States and the rights of the States under it. They are now confessedly carrying on the war which desolates our land, not for the restoration of the Union as it heretofore existed, but for the abolition of slavery. This object of their desire they now believe is within their grasp, and they are pursuing it regardless of the obligations of the Constitution, or the rights of the States, or of persons or property. A recent proof of this is given in a speech made at Keokuk by Colonel Stone, the Administration candidate for Governor of Iowa. He said: "I admit that this is an Abolition war. It was not such in the start; but the Administration has discovered that it could not subdue the South else than by making it an Abolition war, and they have done so; and it will be continued as an Abolition war so long as there is one slave at the South to be made free."

In 1856, at Honesdale, in this State, I heard Senator Wilson, of Massachusetts, make a speech under a banner on which was inscribed, "No Union with Slaveholders." He preached disunion then, and he and his party are acting it out now. The theme of his discourse was an effort to show the equality of the negro with the white man; and I recollect that he misquoted the Declaration of Independence by inserting the word "free"—as if Mr. Jefferson and the signers of that immortal document, nearly all of whom were the owners of negro slaves, meant to affirm that all white and black men were free and equal!

The men of the Revolution, and those who formed the Constitutions of the different States and of the United States, acknowledged no such principle of equality. They recognized the lawfulness of the relation of master and slave, and were content to leave that relation to the action of the States and of the people interested in it. The Democratic party has always been willing to abide by and preserve inviolate the covenants between the States and the compromises of the Constitution, leaving to each State in this respect, and in all others provided by the Constitution, the regulation of its own affairs. The States provide by law for the regulation of the relation of master and apprentice, of guardian and ward, of trustee and the beneficiary—why not that of master and slave? No outside authority has any legal or constitutional right to interfere with these relations. The Democratic party leave these points where the Constitution and laws of the Union place them. We are not like the New England Pharisees, who profanely "thank God that they are better than other men;" and yet such as they are were pronounced by the highest authority "to be hypocrites, who omit the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy and faith—blind guides, which strain at a gnat and swallow a camel."

In an evil hour the administration of the Government fell into the hands of these "blind guides;" not, however, it may be well to remember, by a majority of the people, for Mr. Lincoln was in a minority of upwards of a million of the popular vote. And here, in order that I may not be misunderstood as to the words *Administration* and *Government*, let me quote and adopt the resolution of the last House of Representatives of our State, and which was unanimously approved by the late Democratic State Conventions:

"This General Assembly recognizes a manifest

difference between the Administration of the Government and the Government itself—the one is transitory, limited in duration to that period of time to which the officers elected by the people are charged with the conduct of the same; the other is permanent, and intended by its founders to endure forever.”

But Mr. Lincoln and his party were called to administer the Government. Alas! what sad calamities has this advent brought upon the country. DIS-UNION, CIVIL WAR, DESOLATION OF HOMES, DESTRUCTION OF MYRIADS OF LIVES AND COUNTLESS PROPERTY, A DEPRECIATED CURRENCY, A NATIONAL DEBT of gigantic proportions, swelling day by day, with grinding taxation now, and fearful oppression in the future.

This is the feast to which we are invited. The National debt—what is it now? Who can tell? An official statement recently published says that it amounted on the 30th of June last to one thousand one hundred and ninety-seven millions two hundred and seventy-four thousand three hundred and sixty-six dollars. It consisted of the following classes of obligations:

Four per cents.....	\$28, 059, 295
Five per cents.....	101, 297, 639
Six per cents.....	481, 275, 875
Seven and three-tenths per cent..	189, 920, 500
Debt not bearing interest.....	396, 721, 057

Total.....\$1, 197, 274, 366

But this frightful sum total does not include all the liabilities of the Government. I see in the newspapers of the day other items mentioned, namely: U. S. certificates of indebtedness; new U. S. certificates of indebtedness; orders for certificates of indebtedness; Quartermaster's vouchers. These and many other items constitute a floating debt, most of which is not embraced in the above financial statement.

Some idea of the magnitude of the business of settling army paymasters' accounts may be inferred from the fact that over one hundred and fifty clerks are employed upon them at the office of the Second Auditor; yet, with all this force, there is a year and a half's accumulation of accounts and claims in that office.

If we add to the above statement all the liabilities incurred for war purposes since the 30th of June, and claims for damages, pensions, bounties, &c., &c., we will not overstate the total liabilities of the United States at the present time at TWO THOUSAND MILLIONS OF DOLLARS.

Pennsylvania is about one-tenth of the "Union as it was." Her proportion of the National debt is, therefore, two hundred millions of dollars. But if we impoverish and destroy the South, depopulate her cities, her towns and her plantations, the proportion of the debt to Pennsylvania will be increased fifty per cent.; making her liabilities for the war four hundred millions of dollars. The expenses of the General Government, for all purposes, at the present time exceed two millions of dollars per day; that is, at the rate of more than seven hundred millions per annum. The internal revenue tax now levied is estimated at one hundred and fifty millions of dollars. It is very doubtful whether that amount will be collected; but whether it is or not, these figures will show what an immense increase every month and every year of war will make to the above-mentioned enormous amount of liabilities.

The debt is now represented by a mere promise to pay, but it is payable in money, which the Constitution recognizes to be gold and silver. It will increase our understanding of the amount of the money I have named when we consider the weight of those amounts in gold and silver. The debt is now, say, two thousand millions of dollars; this in gold coin of the United States would weigh three thousand eight hundred and seventy-five tons. (A million of gold weighs about 3,655 pounds.) To move this amount on an ordinary road would require 3,655 horses, or 921 wagons with four horses. Silver weighs about fifteen times, as much as gold. It would, therefore,

require a greater force, in that proportion, to move the above amount if estimated in that metal. How much these amounts would weigh in paper which has no intrinsic value, I have no means of calculating.

The valuation of all the property, real and personal, in Pennsylvania, as fixed by the Revenue Board of 1853, is five hundred and ninety-six millions of dollars. The ascertained and registered debt of the United States on the 30th of June last, alone, without reference to other debts and liabilities, is nearly twice as great as the whole value of the assessed property in this Commonwealth! If we include the estimated debts before referred to, including claims for damages, &c., &c., we then have a debt more than four times the value of the property of all kinds in Pennsylvania as returned by the assessors to the county commissioners.

This comparison also will assist us to form some adequate idea of the magnitude of the National debt.

Again, Boston, in proportion to her population, is the richest city in the United States. The total wealth of that city, as recently valued by the assessors, is three hundred and two millions of dollars. The whole wealth of that city will not pay the expenses of the Government for much more than one hundred days.

Our own Commonwealth has had some experience in reference to a State debt. I do not wish to revive unpleasant recollections, but it must be admitted that for two or three years we failed to pay the interest on our debt of forty millions. Since 1845, under the influence of the tax of three mills on the dollar authorized by the act of 1844, we have paid the interest, with some deductions which ought not to be made, but the debt remains about the same amount, according to the last official report of the State authorities. It is estimated that about one million more will be required to pay certain military claims authorized to be paid by a recent act of Assembly.

When we reflect that the last two years and a half have added an additional debt of two hundred millions as the proportion of Pennsylvania, we may well be alarmed for the future. We will find that the heavy taxes now imposed are only the precursors of heavier and more exhausting taxation in the future; and, unless arrested in our downward career, our hitherto free, prosperous and happy land will be overwhelmed in irretrievable bankruptcy and ruin—a pitiable spectacle to ourselves and to the world of a great nation destroying itself in the vain expectation of placing the negro on an equality with the white man, and of subjugating eight millions of our fellow-citizens in the endeavor to accomplish such an unnatural and impossible event.

If we turn from the subject of the finances and look at the currency of the country, what an extraordinary spectacle meets our view. The Constitution of the United States makes gold and silver the only legal money of the United States. Heretofore, as the result of Democratic measures, gold and silver coin, with a proportion of bank notes payable in coin, formed the currency of the country. The Gold bill and the Sub-Treasury law, once so much abused by the enemies of the Democratic party, fulfilled the expectations of the friends of a sound currency. The mint poured forth its millions of coin. The prophecy was realized; gold coin *did* shine through the interstices of the purses of the people. It was the era of gold, and golden hopes for the future beat high in every true American heart. Then every American at home or abroad could, in the language of Benton, consider himself "a hundred feet high."

The starry flag was then the emblem of freedom, union and strength; and woe be to that emperor or king who would touch but a hair on the head of the humblest citizen who reposed under its sacred folds. But now, alas! there are none so poor as to do her reverence. To add to our misery and humiliation, whilst we now speak, negotiations are going forward among the kings and despots of Europe to plant an Austrian kingdom, supported by French bayonets, on this North America of ours—hitherto sacred from the intrusion of foreign powers.

Let us hasten to settle our difficulties, and with a united country ~~say~~ to these rulers of Europe, Cross not the Atlantic. Advance not one step upon American soil. Americans must govern themselves, and be the arbiters of their own destiny. But, alas! we are in no condition to assert our rights, much less to stand upon our dignity and honor. Even our personal rights seem to be passing away, like the snow upon the mountains. The tread of military despotism seems to be advancing nearer and nearer. We should be thankful, I suppose, for the privilege of meeting here, under the shadow of Independence Hall, where our fathers declared themselves free and independent. We are indeed thankful that this privilege is left us.

Let me return from this digression. With civil war comes a grinding debt, heavy taxes, and a depreciated paper currency. The currency consists of notes that are a legal tender by act of Congress, but not convertible into gold or silver. No one will keep these paper promises long. They will not be hoarded away under hearthstones and in the cellars like gold and silver. The practice of hoarding I do not in any case approve; I only speak of it to show the home-appreciation of the difference between gold and silver on the one hand and notes on the other. If a man has more of the latter than he needs to pay his debts and buy what he wants for himself and his family he will *find* it. This is well enough, and he is doing the best he can. If there was some reasonable limit to this business it would do better. The operation of printing money may be carried too far. I notice, moreover, that the printing establishments of the Government are not able to print the notes fast enough. Mr. Chase has, within the past few days, called on the banks for a loan to the amount of the small sum of fifty millions of dollars. These millions will not last him a month, but they will give time for the paper machines to get ahead of the pressing demands from all quarters upon the Treasury. Fifty millions of dollars in years past was quite a sum of money. During Mr. Van Buren's Administration, when he had, besides the Government to attend to, a war with the Florida Indians on his hands, the country was convulsed with indignation, because the expenditures reached the sum of thirty-five millions per annum! This had more to do in preventing his reelection than the other arguments used against him, namely: "Sub-Treasury"—"Bloodhounds"—"Standing Army"—"One Term," and "No Veto."

Mr. Polk carried on the Government and a war with Mexico at a cost of forty-three millions per annum. With these tens of millions he "*conquered a peace*," secured to us Texas, and bought the golden region of California. But his Administration was denounced for its extravagant expenditures! These figures were mountains then—they are pigmies now.

But the currency sympathizes with prices, and at this time with all things of value, but especially with Corroon goods. Five dollars in paper money does not go far in buying a dress for the wife or a frock for the child, or even in filling the market basket. A half eagle formerly did at least twice the work. Prices go up as paper money goes down. A currency based upon credit is deplorable indeed; the farther the credit is stretched the worse the currency becomes. The Continental money and the French Assignats were current for a time, but the expansion at last became too great—elasticity has some limits—the strings burst, and then came the collapse. An irredeemable currency is like a despotism in this: it exists only by the sufferance of the people. They suffer from both, or either, until sufferance ceases to be a virtue, and then comes the deluge.

I come now to suggest a remedy for these present and impending evils. This would be an easy task if all our people North and South would bring to their remembrance the sublime truth that the Power which governs the world and directs the affairs of nations and of men is not found in the fire, nor the tempest, nor the whirlwind, but in the still small voice of gentleness kindness and love.

Have we gone so far in this work of blood and devastation that there is no return? Is the path of

conciliation, compromise and peace forever closed? Surely not, my friends, surely not. We may yet, by the withdrawal of the Emancipation Proclamation, the repeal of the Conscription bill, and all measures of like character, evoke and revive that feeling for the Union in the South which was destroyed by these obnoxious measures. Let us then offer in good faith the guarantees proposed by Senators Crittenden and Douglas, to insure the domestic tranquility, safety and equality of all the States, and restore peace, unity and fraternity to the whole country.

The remedy was well stated by our candidate for Governor from this sacred spot on the 15th of December, 1860. With the wisdom and foresight which characterizes the true statesman, he said, "We must arouse ourselves and reassert the rights of the slaveholder, and add such guarantees to our Constitution as will protect his property from the spoliation of religious bigotry and persecution, or else we must give up our Constitution and Union. The alternative is plainly before us—constitutional union and liberty according to American law, or else extinction of slave property, negro freedom, dissolution of the Union and anarchy and confusion."

The war had not then actually commenced. If counsel like this had been followed by acts of a similar character, the dismal chapter of civil war, with all its calamities and miseries, would not have been written in letters of blood; but peace and union would now have her banner over us.

The party now in power do not appear to desire reconciliation or adjustment. Their radical measures are inconsistent with either, and they declare that the war is now for the abolition of slavery and for the suzerainty of the South, and that it shall be carried on to the bitter end.

But let us not despair of the Republic. Let us, through the ballot-box, show our devotion to the principles of constitutional liberty; our determination to use every honest and fair means to place at the head of our State Government a statesman of the good old Democratic school; a school that teaches our *duties* to our fellow-citizens, our sister States, and to the Union, as well as our *rights* under the Constitution and laws.

Our success at the next election will put our own ship of State on the old Democratic tack, with a firm, honest, able and enlightened statesman at the helm. We will then be in a condition to help forward the cause of the Union and the Constitution in the Presidential contest in 1864, which will decide the fate of the nation perhaps for all future time.

If all measures for conciliation and compromise on fair and honorable terms should fail, when fairly and honestly presented, the Democracy of Pennsylvania stand pledged "to use all possible constitutional efforts to suppress the present rebellion." The Convention which nominated Judge Woodward and Judge Lowrie further declared, (adopting the resolution of the House of Representatives,) "That this General Assembly condemns and denounces the faults of the Administration and the encroachment of the Abolitionists; it does also most thoroughly condemn and denounce the heresy of secession as unwarranted by the Constitution, and destructive alike of the security and perpetuity of the Government and of the peace and liberty of the people, and it does hereby most solemnly declare that the people of this State are unalterably opposed to any division of the Union, and will persistently exert their whole influence and power under the Constitution to maintain and defend it."

The same Convention also adopted the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the Democracy of Pennsylvania has ever been true to the cause of the Union. It was in the name and for the sake of the Union, that our party was made; that we denounce the least intimation that the Democratic party entertains now, or ever has entertained, or ever can entertain, the slightest sympathy with the present gigantic rebellion, or with traitors in arms against the Government, or would ever consent to peace upon any terms involving a dismemberment of the Union, as

utterly unjust; and in proof of this, we point with exultation to the lavish contributions to the war in blood and treasure heretofore and now being made by the hundreds of thousands of Democratic citizens who were among the first to fly to the rescue of the Union, and peril their lives in its defence."

These resolutions show the platform of the Democratic Union. Upon these principles our distinguished candidates stand before the country. When the reins of Government are restored to the Democratic party, let us hasten to repair the grievous errors of the past. Let us, by all means in our power, endeavor to restore that moral as well as political Union which was established by Washington and maintained by Jackson. Then we shall have peace and Union under the same Constitution, and with the one flag of many stars floating over us. Then it will be the old Union of our hearts and hands, and we shall shed tears of joy as we hail it in the breeze, "The flag of the Union forever."

One word more. A recent proclamation of the President suspends the *habeas corpus* act in certain enumerated cases. The lives and liberties of the people are now no longer under the protection of the laws. "The President, the military, naval and civil officers of the United States, or any of them," can arrest and "hold" any citizen at their will or pleasure. This is a tremendous power to give any man or set of men. A leading Administration paper in this city says that "this power would be dangerous in the hands of a corrupt ruler, but the honesty and incorruptible patriotism of Abraham Lincoln guarantees its upright and impartial exercise." There would be some force in this remark, even admitting, for the sake of the argument, the adjectives applied to the President, but his proclamation gives the same power also to each "military, naval and civil officer in the United States." Mr. Lincoln has not the power of ubiquity nor omniscience. He cannot know what his numerous subordinates, in different parts of our extended country, are doing in his name and by his authority. What the writ of *habeas corpus* gives to the citizen, namely, a hearing at least, is taken from him, to say nothing of the common law provision "that no freeman shall be imprisoned or detained without *cause shown*."

In every Government, arbitrary as well as free, it has heretofore been the first and most important object to secure the citizen or the subject from violence or detention unauthorized by law. Our own Chief Justice, (Lowrie) in a recent case, announced a familiar principle when he said: "It is alleged that the fact complained of was authorized by the Presi-

dent of the United States, and was executed by important Federal officers. But this element loses all its legal importance when we consider that all public functionaries in this land are *under law*, and that none from, the highest to the lowest, are above it."

These familiar principles are set at naught, and we seem to be going backwards to that condition of society when *force* was the only rule, and men wore swords by their sides to protect themselves from injury and oppression.

But let not these oppressive measures drive us from our propriety of conduct. We are now, as we always have been, the friends of law and order; and though the laws may be temporarily silent, we will give them obedience. Let us, therefore, be careful to do nothing against the peace and dignity of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

We still have, by Art. I of the Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, "the right peaceably to assemble and petition the Government for a redress of grievances." Our own Constitution—art. ix, sec. 1—declares that the people "have certain inherent and inalienable rights, among which are those of enjoying and defending life and liberty, of acquiring and possessing property, and of pursuing their own happiness." The seventh section of the second article ordains, "That the printing presses shall be free to every person who undertakes to examine the proceedings of the Legislature or any branch of the Government, and no law shall be made to restrain the exercise thereof." "The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable rights of man, and every citizen may freely speak, write and print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty." These and other common and inherent rights still remain to us. And above all, in the present crisis of our public affairs, we have the right of the *ballot*. Let us see to it that this right is exercised at the next election. It is a right sacred to freedom, and formidable to tyrants only. It is now our only hope for the future. If a majority of the voters of Pennsylvania decide in favor of the present Administration, we will, as law-abiding citizens, calmly and passively abide the result. All we ask is a fair and honest arbitrament at the polls.

And here, under the shadow of this venerable Hall of Independence, and on this anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution, we solemnly declare that we intend to assert this right with all the vigor and earnestness of freemen engaged in the holy cause of maintaining the Constitution, the Union and freedom.